

HART-TEETER  
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Interviews: 1020 registered voters  
Dates: November 2-3, 1996

48 Male  
52 Female  
[5]

**FINAL**

Study #4075  
NBC News/WSJ  
November 2-3, 1996

AR	TYPE	SA	FORM	SENATE	DA	November	1996
[6]	[7]	[8]	[9]	[10]	[11]	[12]	[13]
[14]	[15]						

**NOTE:** Current results are for registered voters only. Except where otherwise noted, results from previous surveys are among **all adults**.

1. Are you currently registered to vote in the precinct or election district in which you now live, or haven't you had a chance to register yet?

Registered .....	100	<b>CONTINUE</b>	[16]
Not registered.....	-		
Not sure.....	-	<b>TERMINATE</b>	

- 2a. All in all, do you think things in the nation are generally headed in the right direction, or do you feel that things are off on the wrong track?<sup>1</sup>

	11/96	10/96+	9/96+	8/2- 6/96+	6/96+	5/96+	3/96	1/96	12/95	11/95	10/95	
Right direction.....	41	42	39	37	32	28	29	25	30	25	26	[17]
Wrong track.....	40	39	44	43	49	52	54	54	50	57	54	
Mixed (VOL).....	16	14	13	16	14	15	12	14	14	12	15	
Not sure.....	3	5	4	4	5	5	5	7	6	6	5	

<sup>1</sup> Only selected months of comparable data shown.

+ Asked only of registered voters.

2b. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing as president?

	<u>11/96</u>	<u>10/96+</u>	<u>9/96+</u>	<u>8/20- 21/96+</u>	<u>8/2- 6/96+</u>	<u>7/96+</u>	<u>6/96+</u>	<u>5/96+</u>	<u>3/96</u>	<u>1/96</u>	
Approve.....	53	56	55	53	54	54	53	52	51	46	[18]
Disapprove.....	40	37	38	38	36	33	39	40	39	43	
Not sure.....	7	7	7	9	10	13	8	8	10	11	
		<u>12/95</u>	<u>11/95</u>	<u>10/95</u>	<u>9/95</u>	<u>7/95</u>	<u>6/95</u>	<u>4/21- 25/95</u>	<u>4/3- 4/95</u>	<u>3/95</u>	
		51	49	46	46	47	46	50	46	44	
		40	42	43	43	44	42	39	44	45	
		9	9	11	11	9	12	11	10	11	
			<u>11/95</u>	<u>11/9/</u>	<u>11/4-</u>						
		<u>1/95</u>	<u>12/94</u>	<u>94+</u>	<u>5/94+</u>	<u>10/94</u>	<u>9/94</u>	<u>7/94</u>	<u>6/94</u>	<u>5/94</u>	
		45	48	43	44	48	44	49	52	57	
		43	44	48	44	43	48	44	39	37	
		12	8	9	12	9	8	7	9	6	
	<u>3/94</u>	<u>1/94</u>	<u>12/93</u>	<u>10/93</u>	<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>4/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	
	55	60	56	47	50	45	41	52	57	51	
	36	31	33	43	39	45	50	34	26	16	
	9	9	11	10	11	10	9	14	17	33	

+ Asked only of registered voters.

3. I'm going to read you the names of several public figures, and I'd like you to rate your feelings toward each one as either very positive, somewhat positive, neutral, somewhat negative, or very negative. If you don't know the name, please just say so.<sup>1</sup>

	<u>Very Positive</u>	<u>Somewhat Positive</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Somewhat Negative</u>	<u>Very Negative</u>	<u>Don't Know Name/ Not Sure</u>	
<b>Bill Clinton</b>							[19]
November 1996.....	22	26	13	15	23	1	
October 1996+.....	26	28	13	12	21	-	
September 1996+.....	24	29	14	13	20	-	
August 20-21, 1996+.....	23	27	15	13	21	1	
August 2-6, 1996+.....	21	32	16	13	18	-	
June 1996+.....	22	29	14	15	20	-	
May 1996+.....	20	31	15	15	19	-	
March 1996.....	18	33	17	14	18	-	
January 1996.....	17	29	16	18	19	1	
December 1995.....	18	31	15	18	18	-	
October 1995.....	16	31	19	18	16	-	

<sup>1</sup> Only selected months of comparable data are shown.

+ Asked only of registered voters.

Q.3. (cont'd.)<sup>1</sup>

	<u>Very Positive</u>	<u>Somewhat Positive</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Somewhat Negative</u>	<u>Very Negative</u>	<u>Don't Know Name/ Not Sure</u>	
<b>Ross Perot</b>							<b>[20]</b>
November 1996.....	6	16	28	21	26	3	
October 1996+.....	6	15	28	20	28	3	
September 1996+.....	6	16	23	21	31	3	
August 20-21, 1996+.....	7	14	24	19	32	4	
August 2-6, 1996+.....	6	18	26	21	27	2	
June 1996+.....	6	17	25	22	27	3	
May 1996+.....	6	17	21	26	27	3	
March 1996.....	9	18	24	22	23	4	
January 1996.....	7	19	27	21	22	4	
December 1995.....	7	19	24	21	25	4	
October 1995.....	8	19	29	21	20	3	
<b>Bob Dole</b>							<b>[21]</b>
November 1996.....	16	21	21	19	22	1	
October 1996+.....	15	25	21	18	20	1	
September 1996+.....	17	27	20	18	17	1	
August 20-21, 1996+.....	18	28	19	16	17	2	
August 2-6, 1996+.....	11	28	23	21	15	2	
June 1996+.....	13	27	23	17	18	2	
May 1996+.....	11	28	21	21	17	2	
March 1996.....	7	28	23	22	17	3	
January 1996.....	10	31	24	18	13	4	
December 1995.....	11	30	22	19	14	4	
October 1995.....	9	27	30	16	12	6	

<sup>1</sup> Only selected months of comparable data are shown.

+ Asked only of registered voters.

- 4a. If the presidential election were held today, Bill Clinton and Al Gore were running as the Democratic candidates, Bob Dole and Jack Kemp were the Republican candidates, and Ross Perot and Pat Choate (rhymes with "boat") were the Reform Party candidates, for whom would you vote? **(IF "NOT SURE," ASK:) Well, which way do you lean at this time?**

*All data reflects results among registered voters.*

	<u>11/96</u> <sup>1</sup>		<u>10/96</u>	<u>9/96</u>	<u>8/20- 21/96</u> <sup>2</sup>	<u>8/2- 6/96</u>	<u>7/96</u>	
Clinton and Gore.....	49	<b>CONTINUE</b>	52	51	48	50	50	<b>[22]</b>
Dole and Kemp.....	37		35	38	38	30	25	
Perot and Choate.....	9	<b>SKIP TO Q.5.</b>	6	5	8	10	13	
None/other (VOL).....	-		2	1	2	3	3	
Not sure.....	5		5	5	4	7	9	
			<u>6/96</u>	<u>5/96</u>	<u>3/96</u>	<u>1/96</u>	<u>12/95</u>	<u>10/95</u>
			47	49	46	41	45	41
			32	31	30	36	33	35
			13	12	15	14	14	15
			2	3	4	3	4	4
			6	5	5	6	4	5
			<u>7/95</u>	<u>4/95</u>	<u>10/93</u>	<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>
			38	41	37	39	36	36
			36	36	36	27	28	29
			17	15	20	25	26	27
			3	3	NA	4	3	5
			6	5	7	5	7	3

<sup>1</sup> Results do not reflect respondents who say they will not vote for any of the three candidates.

<sup>2</sup> Previous to September 1996, the question referred to Clinton, Dole, and Perot without the vice-presidential candidates.

**(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO CHOOSE A PAIR OF CANDIDATES IN Q.4a.)**

- 4b. Would you definitely vote for **(CANDIDATES NAMED IN Q.4a)**, probably vote for **(CANDIDATES)** but are still thinking about it, or are you just leaning toward voting for **(CANDIDATES)**?

	<i>Clinton/Gore Voters</i>					<i>Dole/Kemp Voters</i>					
	<u>11/9</u>	<u>10/9</u>	<u>9/96</u>	<u>8/20- 21/96</u> <sup>1</sup>	<u>8/2- 6/96</u>	<u>11/96</u>	<u>10/96</u>	<u>9/96</u>	<u>8/20- 21/96</u>	<u>8/2- 6/96</u>	
	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>									<b>[23]</b>
Definitely vote for candidates.....	82	80	75	67	67	79	77	72	70	62	
Probably vote for candidates/ still thinking about it.....	10	11	15	21	18	11	12	13	17	22	
Just leaning toward voting for candidates.....	8	8	10	11	14	10	10	14	12	16	
Not sure.....	5	1	-	1	1	-	1	1	1	-	

<sup>1</sup> Previous to September 1996, the question referred to Clinton and Dole without the vice-presidential candidates.

	<u>11/96</u>	<u>10/96</u>	<u>9/96</u>	<u>8/20-21/96</u>	<u>8/2-6/96</u>
<b>Combined results of Q.7a. and 7b.</b>					
<b>Clinton/Gore Voters.....</b>	<b><u>49</u></b>	<b><u>52</u></b>	<b><u>51</u></b>	<b><u>48</u></b>	<b><u>50</u></b>
Definitely vote for.....	40	42	38	32	34
Probably/Just leaning/Not sure.....	9	10	13	16	16
<b>Dole/Kemp Voters.....</b>	<b><u>37</u></b>	<b><u>35</u></b>	<b><u>38</u></b>	<b><u>38</u></b>	<b><u>30</u></b>
Definitely vote for.....	29	27	27	27	18
Probably/Just leaning/Not sure.....	8	8	11	11	12
<b>Perot/Choate Voters.....</b>	<b><u>9</u></b>	<b><u>6</u></b>	<b><u>5</u></b>	<b><u>8</u></b>	<b><u>10</u></b>
Definitely vote for.....	5	3	2	4	4
Probably/Just leaning/Not sure.....	4	3	3	4	6
<b>Undecided (Q.4a.).....</b>	<b><u>5</u></b>	<b><u>7</u></b>	<b><u>6</u></b>	<b><u>6</u></b>	<b><u>10</u></b>

**(ASK EVERYONE)**

5. In this year's election for U.S. House of Representatives, do you plan to vote for the Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate in your district? **(IF "NOT SURE," ASK:)** Well, which way do you lean at this time?

	<u>11/96</u>	<u>10/96+</u>	<u>9/96+</u>	<u>8/20-21/96+</u>	<u>8/2-6/96+</u>	<u>7/96+</u>	<u>6/96+</u>	<u>5/96+</u>	<u>3/96</u>	
Vote for the Republican candidate.....	41	38	36	37	38	37	35	36	36	<b>[24]</b>
Vote for the Democratic candidate.....	43	39	42	38	38	40	40	39	38	
Depends (VOL).....	7	8	7	11	10	10	10	9	12	
Other/neither/won't vote (VOL).....	1	1	2	2	2	1	1	2	3	
Not sure.....	8	14	13	12	12	12	14	14	11	

	<u>11/4-12/95<sup>1</sup></u>	<u>5/94</u>	<u>10/94</u>	<u>9/94</u>	<u>7/94</u>	<u>6/94</u>	<u>1/94</u>	<u>10/93</u>
	34	40	39	33	31	30	29	34
	36	37	36	39	35	35	34	32
	17	6	6	9	14	14	21	21
	3	3	5	5	5	5	2	2
	10	14	14	14	15	16	14	11

	<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>11/92+</u>	<u>10/27-28/92+</u>	<u>10/20-21/92+</u>	<u>9/92+</u>	<u>8/92+</u>	<u>7/92+</u>	<u>10/90+</u>
	29	31	35	34	29	32	29	31	33
	32	32	45	45	46	43	43	35	35
	24	25	4	3	6	7	7	11	14
	2	3	1	1	2	1	2	3	2
	13	9	15	17	17	17	19	20	16

<sup>1</sup> Prior to March 1996, the question read "election for U.S. Congress. . .".

+ Asked only of registered voters.

6a. In your view, which one of these should be the highest priority for the next presidential administration?

	Q.6a. Highest Priority		Q.6a., Q.6b. Combined First and Second Highest Priorities	
Funding Medicare and Social Security.....	17	[25]	31	[61]
Keeping the economy healthy.....	23		38	
Reforming the campaign finance system.....	2		5	
Cutting the size of government.....	10		19	
Reforming the health care system.....	8		18	
Reducing taxes on the middle class.....	11		27	
Improving the education system.....	18		38	
All (VOL).....	10	SKIP	NA	
None (VOL).....	1	TO	NA	
Not sure.....	-	Q.7a.	NA	

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO CHOOSE A HIGHEST PRIORITY IN Q.6a.)

6b. And which one of these should be the second highest priority for the next presidential administration?

(ASK EVERYONE)

7a. How closely have you been following the issue of campaign contributions and financing -- very closely, fairly closely, just somewhat closely, or not closely?

Very closely.....	14	[26]
Fairly closely.....	24	
Just somewhat closely.....	36	
Not closely.....	25	
Not sure.....	1	

7b. When it comes to engaging in improper campaign fundraising, which presidential campaign do you think is more at fault -- the Clinton campaign, the Dole campaign, both are equally at fault, or neither is at fault?

Clinton campaign.....	29	[27]
Dole campaign.....	5	
Both equally at fault.....	42	
Neither at fault.....	10	
Not sure.....	14	

7c. Who do you think would do the most as president to reform the system of campaign contributions and financing -- Bill Clinton, Bob Dole, or Ross Perot?

Bill Clinton.....	23	[28]
Bob Dole.....	19	
Ross Perot.....	40	
All (VOL).....	1	
None (VOL).....	7	
Not sure.....	10	

8a. Which party do you think is more influenced by special interests and lobbyists--the Democratic Party or the Republican Party?

	<u>11/96</u>	<u>1/93</u>	
Democratic Party.....	32	32	[29]
Republican Party.....	29	34	
Both equally (VOL).....	28	23	
Not sure.....	11	11	

8b. Do you think the Clinton Administration's ethical standards are better, worse, or about the same as other presidential administrations of the past twenty years?

	<u>11/96</u>	<u>10/96+</u>	
Better.....	12	11	[30]

Worse.....	37	32
About the same.....	49	52
Not sure.....	2	5

+ Asked only of registered voters.

### Now, changing subjects . . .

9. What is your preference for the outcome of November's congressional elections -- a Congress controlled by Republicans or a Congress controlled by Democrats?

	<u>11/96</u>	<u>10/96+</u>	<u>9/96+</u>	<u>6/96+</u>	<u>1/96</u>	<u>12/95</u>	<u>10/94<sup>1</sup></u>	
Republicans.....	44	42	42	40	41	42	44	[31]
Democrats.....	40	40	41	40	38	41	38	
Both equal/neither in control (VOL)....	7	9	7	9	10	8	6	
Doesn't matter (VOL).....	4	4	4	5	4	4	5	
Not sure.....	5	5	6	6	7	5	7	

<sup>1</sup> In October 1994, the question referred to the 1994 congressional elections.

+ Asked only of registered voters.

- 10a. Does the fact that Bill Clinton is considered very likely to be reelected president make you more likely to support Republican candidates for Congress, more likely to support Democratic candidates for Congress, or does it not affect your voting for Congress either way?

More likely to support Republican candidates.....	27	[32]
More likely to support Democratic candidates.....	18	
Does not affect voting.....	54	
Not sure.....	1	

- 10b. Let me read you two statements about this year's elections for Congress, and please tell me which one comes closer to your view.

Statement A: It is important to elect more Democrats to Congress, to prevent Newt Gingrich and the Republicans from going too far in cutting Medicare, education, and environmental protections.

Statement B: It is important to elect more Republicans to Congress, to prevent Bill Clinton and the Democrats from going too far in raising taxes and increasing the size of government.

Statement A: Important to elect more Democrats.....	46	[33]
Statement B: Important to elect more Republicans....	43	
Both equal (VOL).....	4	
Not sure.....	7	

11. Looking ahead four years, if the next presidential election were between Al Gore, the Democrat, and Jack Kemp, the Republican, for whom would you vote?

Al Gore.....	43	[34]
Jack Kemp.....	36	
Neither/other (VOL).....	6	
Not sure.....	15	

**FACTUALS:** Now I am going to ask you a few questions for statistical purposes only.

F1. Did you happen to vote in the 1992 presidential election?

(IF "YES," ASK:) For whom did you vote -- George Bush, the Republican, Bill Clinton, the Democrat, or Ross Perot, the independent?

<b>Yes, Voted</b>		
George Bush.....	33	<b>{200}</b>
Bill Clinton .....	38	
Ross Perot.....	11	
None (VOL)/not sure/refused.....	4	
<b>No, Did Not Vote</b> .....	13	
<b>Not Sure If Voted/Refused</b> .....	1	

F2a. In politics today, do you generally consider yourself to be very liberal, somewhat liberal, moderate, somewhat conservative, very conservative, or do you think your views cannot really be described in those terms?

Very liberal.....	4	<b>{201}</b>
Somewhat liberal.....	14	
Moderate.....	30	
Somewhat conservative.....	25	
Very conservative.....	11	
Views cannot be described in those terms.....	13	
Not sure.....	3	

F2b. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an Independent, or something else?

(IF "DEMOCRAT" OR "REPUBLICAN," ASK:) Would you call yourself a strong (Democrat/Republican) or not a very strong (Democrat/Republican)? (IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "NOT VERY STRONG DEMOCRAT/ REPUBLICAN.")

(IF "INDEPENDENT," ASK:) Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party, closer to the Democratic Party, or do you think of yourself as strictly independent? (IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "STRICTLY INDEPENDENT.")

Strong Democrat.....	22	<b>{202}</b>
Not very strong Democrat.....	12	
Independent/lean Democrat.....	7	
Strictly independent.....	18	
Independent/lean Republican.....	10	
Not very strong Republican.....	9	
Strong Republican.....	16	
Other.....	5	
Refused.....	-	
Don't know/nothing.....	1	



F3. What is the last grade you completed in school?

Grade school.....	2	<b>{203}</b>
Some high school.....	7	
High school graduate.....	26	
Some college, no degree.....	18	
Vocational training, 2-year college.....	12	
4-year college/bachelor's degree.....	21	
Some postgraduate work, no degree.....	2	
2-3 years' postgraduate work, master's degree.....	9	
Doctoral degree/law degree.....	2	
Not sure.....	1	

F4. How old are you? **(IF REFUSED, ASK:)** Well, can you tell me which age group you belong to? Are you in the age group 18 to 24, 25 to 29, 30 to 34, 35 to 39, 40 to 44, 45 to 49, 50 to 54, 55 to 59, 60 to 64, or 65 and over?

18-24.....	7	<b>{204}</b>
25-29.....	8	
30-34.....	10	
35-39.....	10	
40-44.....	12	
45-49.....	11	
50-54.....	8	
55-59.....	6	
60-64.....	7	
65 and over.....	20	
Refused.....	1	

F5. Are you, or is any member of your household, a member of a labor union?

Labor union member.....	10	<b>{213}</b>
Labor union household.....	6	
Nonunion household.....	81	
Not sure.....	3	

F6. In what religion were you brought up?

Protestant.....	55	<b>{207}</b>
Catholic.....	32	
Jewish.....	2	
Other.....	6	
None.....	3	
Not sure/refused.....	2	

F7. Are you white, black, Hispanic, Asian, or something else?

White.....	81	<b>{214}</b>
Black.....	10	
Hispanic.....	4	
Asian.....	1	
Other.....	3	
Not sure/refused.....	1	

- F8. If you added together the yearly income of all the members of your family who were living at home last year, would the total be less than \$10,000, between \$10,000 and \$20,000, between \$20,000 and \$30,000, between \$30,000 and \$40,000, between \$40,000 and \$50,000, between \$50,000 and \$75,000, or would the total be more than that?

Less than \$10,000.....	5	<b>{216}</b>
Between \$10,000 and \$20,000.....	10	
Between \$20,000 and \$30,000.....	16	
Between \$30,000 and \$40,000.....	15	
Between \$40,000 and \$50,000.....	13	
Between \$50,000 and \$75,000.....	17	
More than \$75,000.....	12	
Not sure/refused.....	12	